

The American Observer

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A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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Domestic Issues Are Stressed by Dewey

Agrees to Approach Problems of Peace on Nonpartisan Basis, but Raps New Deal

DEMANDS EXPANDING PRODUCTION

Says Government Must Encourage Private Enterprise to Provide Postwar Jobs for All

The first round of the presidential campaign will end with the completion of Governor Dewey's speaking tour across the continent. During this round, the national spotlight has been centered upon the Republicans because the presidential candidate himself always commands greater attention than other speakers and Mr. Dewey was the first to launch his formal campaign. While there have been several political addresses by Democratic leaders, including the acceptance speech of vice-presidential candidate Truman, the big Democratic barrage was held for the first strictly political address of President Roosevelt, scheduled for September 23. Mr. Roosevelt has announced another political speech for October 5.

It is apparent that the two parties are going to wage different types of campaigns. Governor Dewey is staging an old-fashioned campaign, traveling extensively about the country, appearing before as many people as possible in the larger cities, and conferring with the state and local political leaders. He is personally going out after the votes. He is seeing to it that the Republican Party machinery is well organized and in good working order.

Different Campaigns

The Democrats are using a different method of campaigning. They will give many speeches and party leaders will travel widely, but their presidential candidate will not go on any personal appearance tours. He is scheduled to make only a few strictly "political" addresses. The brunt of the campaign will be borne by the vice-presidential candidate and others high in the Democratic Party.

Apparently each party believes it is "good politics" to wage this type of campaign. The Republicans feel that one of their handicaps is the fact that Governor Dewey is not well known by the great mass of voters outside of New York State and hence that the people should be given every opportunity to see him and to hear his views on the issues of the campaign. In other words, the Republicans feel that Mr. Dewey's big job is to sell himself and his program directly to the American people.

The Democrats believe that they can win more votes by having the President concentrate his time and attention on the problems of war and

(Continued on page 2)



Can the next generation be spared the ordeal of war?

Where Vision Is Needed

By Walter E. Myer

I was interested the other day in a discussion of world security and the prevention of war. One of the members of the group was advocating the establishment of a world government, along the lines of the Union Now movement. He was immediately challenged on the ground that such a plan was "impossible" and "fantastic." I was not much impressed by this argument. Not that I favor the attempt to achieve world federation at this time. Some other plan for curbing aggression and insuring peace may be preferable. I am not discussing that issue. But I do not like the idea of brushing off every new or unusual proposal with the sweeping assertion that it is fantastic. I do not like to see every suggestion for doing things in new ways dismissed as being impossible.

As a matter of fact we live in a fantastic world. We are quite accustomed to the fantasies which turn quickly to reality in the realm of material development. The scientist dreams dreams and follows strange visions. He invents devices which revolutionize our methods of industry and of warfare. The robot plane, a terrifying instrument of destruction, has been recently put to use with devastating effect. Few question that it will be improved so that after a while it will speed its way, not, as at present, across a narrow channel but across broad oceans. The super-fortress is a portent of the future bomber, which will travel on its mission of destruction across oceans and continents. In the fields of peaceful industry as well as of war new implements are deeply affecting human life. Labor-saving devices are threatening to throw millions out of work.

In the presence of these material developments, some of which are sweeping civilization toward the abyss, we must not be defeatist. We must learn to control the new tools which science gives us so that they will serve us instead of destroying us. We need to match new ideas of the material world with new ideas in the realms of government and politics. When new ways of dealing with new problems are proposed we must not be too quick to condemn them as fantastic merely because they are new.

This does not mean that every new plan to prevent war or to establish economic stability should be accepted. Many novel proposals are unsound and should be avoided. Each should be examined carefully and should be judged on its merits. All that I am advocating is that we should not be fainthearted in the presence of difficult problems. The fact that war and poverty and crime have always been with us does not mean that they must forever be with us in the future. We have learned how to make machines which perform tasks hitherto considered impossible. If we are equally inventive and equally willing to try new ideas when we deal with economic and political problems, we can surely build a better nation and a better world.

Article by Bullitt Raises Controversy

Criticism of Russians Held Dangerous to Harmonious Relations After War

CALLS THE CONFLICT FUNDAMENTAL

Sees Soviet Influence Spreading to Small Neighboring Countries and Most of Europe

Seldom does a magazine article attract so much attention as one which recently appeared in *Life*. Not often has an article provoked such widespread and heated discussion. The writer was William C. Bullitt, former American ambassador to Russia and later to France. The subject was Russia and the coming conflict which Mr. Bullitt predicts between that country, on the one hand, and western Europe and America, on the other.

Mr. Bullitt was recently sent to Europe as a special correspondent of *Life*. He spent some time in Rome and he undertakes in his article to express the opinion of "Italy" or the Italian people. The title of his article is, "The World From Rome." As a matter of fact, the views which he expresses are not presented as his own, but as those of "Rome" or "Italy."

Questionable Procedure

This is, of course, a very questionable procedure. Suppose that someone should undertake to tell what the United States thinks about anything. That would be wholly impossible, for some Americans think one way about any problem which may be under discussion and other Americans think along different lines.

There are many different parties and factions in Italy, and views on international questions differ widely there as they do here. It is even harder to know what the majority of Italian people are thinking than it is to determine majority opinion in our country, because we have fairly accurate polling devices. Furthermore, a great many Italians are still under German control. When, therefore, Mr. Bullitt presumes to speak for the "Italians," he cannot be taken seriously.

Mr. Bullitt undertakes also to leave the impression that he is expressing the views of the Vatican. He had an audience with the Pope, and he suggests very definitely that the ideas which he states are those of the head of the Catholic church as well as those of the Italian people.

Of course, everyone knows that when the Pope wishes to express an opinion on a matter of public policy, he expresses it himself or selects an official directly connected with the Vatican to express it for him. He does not leave it to a newspaper reporter to tell the world what he thinks.

Thus, it may be reasoned that Mr. Bullitt

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One landing that is meeting plenty of opposition



"If the people command"



"Becoming an old American custom?"

Dewey Stresses Domestic Problems

(Continued from page 1)

peace and appear to devote little time to politics. They think that a few radio speeches will suffice to state the President's case for reelection, and that subordinates can do the major part of the campaigning. In this way, they can emphasize the role which the President, as Commander-in-Chief, is playing in winning the war and organizing the peace.

From Mr. Dewey's early addresses, it is apparent that his campaign will be waged primarily on domestic issues. In his speech at Louisville, Kentucky, the Republican nominee pledged his support to the creation of an international organization to preserve peace and he promised to make this a nonpartisan matter. "When war comes to us," he said, "it brings forth a united American effort. It is a nonpartisan matter. So also must we make peace a nonpartisan matter, to be achieved through a united effort. Only through a nonpartisan approach to the shaping of a peace structure can America achieve unity of purpose. Only with unity of purpose can America exercise the influence in the world for which its real strength has equipped it. I am deeply convinced that our peace efforts can and must become a nonpartisan effort."

This does not mean that the Repub-

lican candidate or the Republican Party will support every detail of the proposed international peace organization. But it does mean that Mr. Dewey accepts the principle of American participation in a world security league and of the use of force to deal with future threats to the peace of the world. He flatly repudiates the position of isolation which was accepted by large numbers of Americans before the war and which is still held by many. Thus, Mr. Dewey has dealt with the charge that a Republican victory this year would have the same results as the Republican victory of 1920; that is, refusal of the United States to become a member of the League of Nations.

The Dewey Charges

While Mr. Dewey has used a nonpartisan approach to the problems of organizing the peace, he has lashed out furiously at the domestic policies of the Roosevelt administration and will undoubtedly hammer away on this theme until election eve. In the remainder of this article, we shall examine the Dewey charges as set forth in the first round of the campaign. We shall then give the replies advanced by the Democrats.

As soon as President Roosevelt makes one or more of his political addresses, or other official spokesmen for the Democratic Party wage their campaign, we shall follow the same procedure as we are doing here. The Democratic arguments will be followed by Republican rebuttals.

We shall continue this policy of analyzing the speeches of the party leaders until election time. By so doing, we hope our readers will have a clear picture of the differences in thinking of the two candidates. We wish to suggest to our readers, as they study the pros and cons of the political debate, that they do not place undue weight upon the argument which is given last in each case. It is generally conceded that the person who has the final word in a discussion or debate ordinarily has the advantage. We urge our readers to keep this fact in mind and to weigh the arguments of both parties with equal care, regardless of the order in which they are presented.

We now know something of Mr. Dewey's strategy in seeking to win the election. In his opening address of the campaign, at Philadelphia, he made this abundantly clear. He charges the Roosevelt administration with failure to solve our economic problems in peacetime and argues that it will be unable to deal effectively with the gigantic issues of the postwar era. This is the charge as stated by the Republican candidate:

"It is a campaign against an administration which was conceived in defeatism, which failed for eight straight years to restore our domestic economy, which has been the most wasteful, extravagant, and incompetent administration in the history of the nation and, worst of all, one which has lost faith in itself and in the American people."

Specifically, Governor Dewey charges the Roosevelt administration with failure to deal successfully with the problems of depression. At Philadelphia he said that during the last 100 years there have been 11 depressions, the average length of which was two years. The longest lasted five years and the next longest was four years. "When this administration took office," he said, "the depression was already over three years old. Then what happened? In 1934, when the depression was then five years old—longer than any other in a century, we still had 12,000,000 unemployed. By 1940, the depression was almost 11 years old. This administration had been in power for seven straight years and there were still 10,000,000 Americans unemployed. It took a world war to get jobs for the American people."

Defeatist Philosophy?

The reason the Roosevelt administration was unable to solve the problems of depression, Mr. Dewey charges, is that the New Deal is based upon a defeatist philosophy, one which contends that the country has reached its maximum of production. To prove the point, he quotes from an address made by Mr. Roosevelt in 1932: "Our industrial plant is built. . . . Our task is not . . . necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources

and plants already in hand." In other words, charges Mr. Dewey, the New Deal philosophy believes that "our frontiers are behind us and all we have left to do is quarrel over the division of what we have."

Mr. Dewey then goes on to argue that America is on the threshold of one of the greatest periods of industrial progress in its history, if the system of free enterprise is permitted to go forward without governmental meddling. He explains what the great need of the postwar period is: "There can be—there must be—jobs and opportunity for all." He then explains how, in his opinion, large numbers of jobs will be provided for the workers now engaged in war work and in the armed services:

"Why, just take housing, for example. If we simply build the homes the American people need in order to be decently housed, it will keep millions of men employed for years. After 12 years of the New Deal the housing of the American people has fallen down so badly that just to come up to the standards of 1930 we shall need to build more than a million homes a year for many years to come. And this does not include the enormous need for farm housing repairs and alterations."

Demand for Goods

"By the end of this year we shall have an immediate need for 6,000,000 automobiles just to put the same number of cars back on the road that were there in 1941. We shall need after the war 3,500,000 vacuum cleaners, 7,000,000 clocks, 23,000,000 radio sets, 5,000,000 refrigerators, 10,000,000 electric irons, 3,000,000 washing machines, and millions of other household appliances."

"There are 600 different articles made of steel and iron which have not been manufactured since 1942. All this means production and production means jobs. But that kind of production and that kind of jobs are beyond the experience and vision of the New Deal. . . ."

"The mighty energy we found lying dormant and unused in this country at the beginning of the war must be turned from destruction to creation. There can and must be jobs

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Never so popular as now

The Story of the Week

War in Europe

American armies are now fighting on German soil. For the first time since the Napoleonic Wars of more than a century ago, major military operations are taking place in the west of Germany. As we go to press, the Yanks have penetrated sections of the Siegfried Line and have landed a mighty airborne army in Holland to outflank the northern end of the line.

From the west, six Allied armies are massing for the grand assault against the Reich. These include one British army, one Canadian, and four American—the First, Third, Seventh, and now the Ninth. The Seventh Army, which invaded the Mediterranean Coast of France on August 15, has now joined forces with the Third, and a solid front has been formed for the big battles to come.

Whether the Germans will attempt to hold the Siegfried Line at all costs is uncertain at this time, for the battles which have taken place up to now are regarded as preliminary to the mighty struggle that will take place when Allied supplies are brought up and the armies organized for the blow. It is possible that the Nazis will hold the Siegfried Line as long as possible but will make their really determined stand at the Rhine.

There were indications last week that the Russians were preparing for another mighty offensive aimed directly at the heart of Germany. In the Warsaw area there were renewed activities and the Red Armies were said to be ready for their big offensive, which would be coordinated with the drive from the west. Meanwhile, in the southeast, Russians are pushing into Hungary and are trying to annihilate the remaining German forces



DEMobilIZATION. In preparation for the time the Army will begin demobilizing millions of men, a "separation classification school" has been set up at Ft. Dix, New Jersey. Here an Army captain, who served in the European theatres of operations, receives his mustering out pay.

in the Balkans, estimated at between 250,000 and 300,000.

China's Plight

In both Europe and the islands of the Pacific, United Nations forces are coming ever closer to victory. But inside China, it is a different story. Making their most determined drive in six years, the Japanese are seriously threatening to knock China's armies out of the war.

Two purposes lie behind Japan's latest all-out effort. With the Philip-



AFTERMATH OF WAR. Troyes, France, is typical of the cities of western Europe which have experienced devastation as a result of the battles to drive the Nazis out.

ines in danger, the Japanese know that Allied strength may soon be directed against either the Dutch East Indies or the China coast (see page 7). If they are to be prepared for attacks at either of these points, they must have unbroken lines of defense from Manchuria to Indo-China. For this reason, they are trying to wipe out China's holdings between their own positions in the north and south. A second reason for the present campaign is the fact that Allied forces in Burma and northern India have made great progress in the building of the Ledo Road in recent months. If this supply route and the old Burma Road can be opened, the Chinese may be able to attack Japanese forces with considerable strength from the west at a time when they will be engaged in meeting American blows from the east.

Thus far, the Japanese drive has pushed back the 14th American Air Force from its main bases at Liuchow in the southeastern province of Kwangsi and has captured major coal and railway centers in Hunan. It is also making progress in the southwest toward blocking off the Burma Road. Chinese troops still hold most of the strategic entrances to Free China, but the Japanese may soon reach a position from which to open new attacks on Chungking, capital of Free China.

V-E Day Program

President Roosevelt's overall scheme for converting the national economy to a peacetime basis has now been revealed in a report by James F. Byrnes, Director of the Office of War Mobilization. To be launched on V-E (Victory in Europe) Day, the Byrnes blueprint calls for the following measures:

- (1) A return to the 40-hour week so that employment may be spread among large numbers of workers. In recommending this, Byrnes also urged states to liberalize unemployment benefits.
- (2) Reduction of Army stockpiles of critical materials and cancellation of shipbuilding contracts by the Maritime Commission.
- (3) Speedy lifting of wartime controls over production of civilian goods so that manufacturers may reconvert their plants as quickly as possible. Byrnes recommends that price ceilings

be revised wherever necessary but that controls be kept until we are well out of danger of inflation.

(4) Gradual abolition of rationing restrictions on food and motor fuel.

(5) A revision of the tax structure so that new enterprise will be encouraged.

(6) Drastic reduction of the number of federal employees.

Food Surpluses

A year or so ago, the great American food problem was to produce enough for our own needs and those of the Allies we had promised to help. Today the problem is a potential surplus of food.

War Mobilization Director Byrnes estimates that when the war with Germany ends, 800,000,000 tons of food can be released from our reserve stockpiles. Some 2,000,000 tons are held here in the United States and the rest is in Europe, chiefly in England. The food was piled up by our government when it appeared that the war in Europe would last much longer than we now expect and when famine conditions were anticipated in the liberated areas of the continent.

Disposing of excess food will be only part of the problem after Germany's

collapse. A sudden drop in Army food purchases is expected to lower the total demand for food by 50 per cent. Normally, this would mean greatly reduced prices, but the government has promised farmers that they will receive 90 per cent of the parity price (a figure based on the price level of a so-called "normal" year) for their produce until two years after the war ends.

Byrnes expects that the easing of rationing in the United States will increase food consumption to some extent at home. Our exports of food may also be expected to rise. But it is likely that the supply of food will still exceed the demand by a considerable margin, keeping the price under the required level. In this situation, the government will have to pay the difference between the market price and the amount guaranteed to the farmers.

Vengeance

The dark years of German occupation did not mean suffering for all Europeans. In every country, collaborationists enjoyed the fruits of Nazi victory along with their conquerors. But now, with the coming of liberation, these people are tasting the wrath of their patriot countrymen.

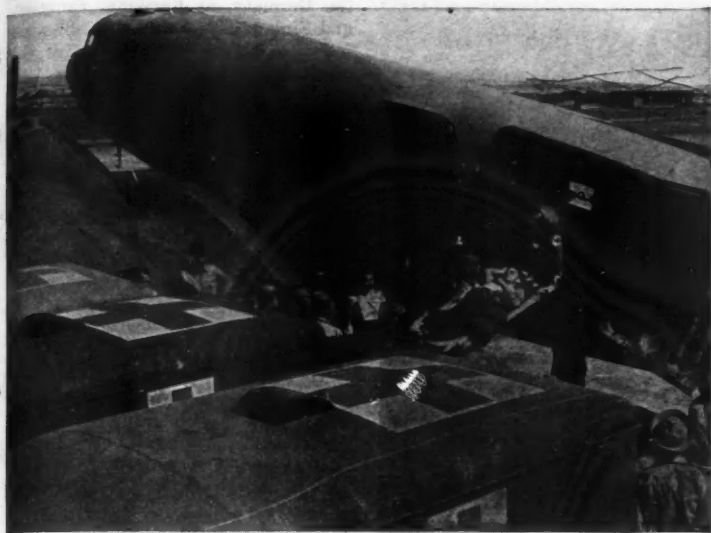
As quickly as possible after the Germans were driven out, the French and Belgians rounded up their leading spies and traitors, brought them to trial, and sentenced them—usually to death. Even in Holland, where the death penalty has not been used for a hundred years, plans are being made to execute all first-rank traitors.

For lesser collaborationists, the liberated peoples have a scale of lighter punishments. Prison sentences of varying lengths are being meted out to those who served the enemy in minor ways. Even those whose crimes were merely friendliness to Germans or Black Market operation are not escaping. In France and Belgium, the patriot's scorn of these people is being vividly manifested.

Hundreds of women have had their heads shaved and been forced to parade through their towns and villages before their jeering neighbors. Socially, they are now outcasts. In Norway, the patriots plan to make their collaborationists legal outcasts as well, by depriving them of the right to vote, to



UNCLE SAM'S LARGEST ICEBOX. The U. S. War Food Administration has converted this quarry mine in Atchison, Kansas, into a giant refrigerator for surplus perishable foods. Dried eggs are shown entering the icebox.



WHAT YOUR WAR BONDS BUY. War savings campaigns now being conducted in the nation's schools are concentrating upon hospital service planes and field ambulances.

serve in the army, to engage in business or the learned professions, and to hold office. They will be allowed to do manual work and to pay taxes.

Homecoming

As Allied armies free their territories on the continent, the exile governments are saying goodbye to London and preparing to return home. Belgium's Premier Pierlot, with his cabinet, has already been welcomed in Brussels by cheering compatriots. Crown Princess Juliana of Holland has left Canada to join Queen Wilhelmina in London. As soon as possible, they will accompany Premier Gerbrandy to The Hague. Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg is ready to depart immediately for her newly liberated capital.

All three of these governments are returning home to serious problems. For the Belgians, King Leopold, now a prisoner in Germany, provides one of the chief difficulties. Resenting his conservatism as well as his surrender to the Nazis in 1940, many Belgians oppose his return to the throne. Some underground leaders want the monarchy abolished entirely and the government radically changed.

The reinstated Belgian government also faces the problem of getting the country's economic system in running order again. Although food supplies on hand are adequate and most of the important cities and industrial installations have survived German occupation unharmed, providing food distribution and factory production will be a big job. Also, the government must clean house throughout the civil administration. During the Nazi occupation, officials on all government levels were replaced with Belgian fascists.

The first problem the Dutch will tackle after their legal government is restored to power will be the raising of an army and navy to aid the United Nations against Japan and liberate their possessions in the Pacific. Since their country has been partly flooded by the Germans, they will face a harder reconstruction task than the Belgians.

The Schools' Contribution

Last year, the young people in our schools bought more than \$600,000,000 worth of war equipment with their war savings, including 33,100 land jeeps, 11,600 amphibious jeeps, 7,690 parachutes, and thousands of life

floats, motor scooters, ambulances, tanks, and motorcycles.

America's schools have already begun an intensive campaign to beat last year's record. Each school has two goals: (1) to qualify by American Education Week, November 5-11, to fly the Schools-at-War flag, indicating that at least 90 per cent of the students are saving regularly, and (2) to complete, by December 7, 1944, at least one campaign to sponsor a piece of war equipment. This year, many of the schools are concentrating on equipment designed to help the wounded, such as hospital service planes and field ambulances.

Here are a few simple rules suggested by the Treasury Department: Choose the piece of equipment your school or organization wishes to buy and organize a campaign to sell stamps and bonds, with a higher goal than any you have reached so far. Then notify your State War Finance officer of your campaign. You can get his address from any bank or postoffice, and he can give you full details and information about the campaign.

Need for Clothing

Last winter millions of people throughout Europe suffered bitterly from the cold weather. Both clothing and fuel were so scarce that it was very common for children to stay in bed all day long just to keep from freezing.

This winter suffering may be even worse unless help is sent. At least three-fourths of the people of Greece,

for example, are in dire need of clothing. Conditions are as bad, or worse, in Poland.

One measure of relief is getting under way this week—a nationwide drive for old clothing in the United States. It is being conducted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the international organization which is concerned with the needs of war-stricken peoples. Every person is asked to contribute all the clothes he can spare—if he does not need them, and if they are still in a useful condition.

The need is greatest for infants' garments, but serviceable clothing of all kinds—for men, women, and children—is wanted. Blankets, sheets, pillowcases, and quilts will also be welcomed. The only items *not* wanted are shoes, hats, pillows, and mattresses. All goods received will be distributed free in areas which are liberated from the Nazis.

Church groups of all faiths are in charge of collecting the clothing in this country. Detailed information about the drive may be obtained from your local church.

Student Federalists

Representatives of an unusual peace-planning group will meet in Chicago for their second national convention this week. They are the Student Federalists—members of a fast-growing youth organization dedicated to promoting a federal union of the world's democracies to prevent war.

The Student Federalist movement started some three years ago when 15-year-old Harris Wofford happened to hear Clarence Streit broadcast on his idea of "Union Now," a world federation of democracies. Deeply impressed, Wofford organized some of his classmates to work for the formation of such a union. Today the Student Federalists, who maintain loose ties with Streit's Federal Union, have some 3,000 members in 115 high schools and colleges.

A volunteer staff publishes a monthly newspaper to spread the idea of a democratic federation to students all over the country. Last summer, the president, Thomas Hughes, attended both political conventions to urge commitment to a world peace organization.

Students interested in the Student Federalist movement may learn more about its methods and purposes by writing to Wilder Crane, Director, Student Federalists, 700 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.



The American people are being called upon to help Europe's millions of refugees by giving their old clothing. Here refugees are shown crossing the mountains from Russia into Persia.

SMILES

The head of a small but excellent business announced that he was moving his office.

A friend said, "Why move? You have the best location in town. What's come over you?"

"A tap-dancing studio," replied the businessman.

★ ★ ★

A patient, recovering from pneumonia, asked repeatedly for food. Finally the nurse served him a mere spoonful of rice.

A few minutes later he called the nurse and said: "Now I want to read a little. Bring me a postage stamp."

★ ★ ★

"Willie," said his mother, "run see how old Mrs. Brown is this morning."

Willie returned a few minutes later and reported: "Mrs. Brown says it's none of your business how old she is."

★ ★ ★

Host: "Speaking of Africa reminds me of the time—"

Bored guest: "My goodness, you're right! I had no idea it was so late. Good night."



WALTER IN SAT. EVE. POST

"You will find, doctor, when he says 'Hands up,' he means it!"

Little boy (sent to dry a towel by the fire): Mama, will it be done when it is brown?

★ ★ ★

"Mein Fuehrer, things are worse than we thought," cried the alarmed aide. "The handwriting on the wall is in eleven languages."

★ ★ ★

A city slicker strolled back to camp one evening with a handful of rattlesnake rattles.

His friend saw them and gasped, "Where did you get those?" "Off some big worms I found," was the calm answer.

★ ★ ★

"Jane is a very systematic girl, isn't she?"

"Yes, she works on the theory that you can find anything you want when you don't want it by looking where it wouldn't be if you did want it."

★ ★ ★

"I tumbled over fifty feet this morning."

"Why, you haven't a scratch on you." "Of course not, I was getting out of a crowded bus."

★ ★ ★

On the bulletin board of a Marine Corps outfit in the South Pacific, an eagle-eyed and considerate censor posted this notice, addressed to a Marine private: "Letter at mail desk. Name on envelope Dorothy; name on letter Betty. Check, and if correct, mail."

★ ★ ★

"You say Gibbs is now an investment counselor?"

"Yes, he traded a lot of his money for experience, and now he wants to reverse the process."

★ ★ ★

"Have you really shown me everything in the shop?"

"Not quite, madam. We have an overdue account of yours on the books if you'd like to see it."

★ ★ ★

The customer who could not see eye-to-eye with the taxicab driver on the matter of fare said in exasperation, "See here, I haven't been riding in cabs for ten years for nothing!"

"No, but I'll bet that you've been trying hard enough," retorted the driver.



Does the Soviet Union's great military might constitute a threat to the future peace of the world?

Bullitt Article Stirs Debate

(Continued from page 1)

Bullitt is expressing his own views plus those of certain Italians with whom he talked. But regardless of whose views he is expressing, his article is highly important for two reasons: (1) Because it is designed to stir hostility between Russia and the United States; (2) Because its appearance in *Life* will assure it a vast audience.

The opinions expressed by Mr. Bullitt, and the manner in which he expresses them, cannot but strengthen the suspicions already felt in certain quarters about Russia. They will render more difficult the task of those leaders who are undertaking to encourage friendly and peaceful relations with Russia. It is necessary, therefore, that the Bullitt article be carefully examined.

Irrepressible Conflict?

The Bullitt argument follows this line: The conflict between communism, on the one hand, and democracy and Christianity on the other, is irrepressible. It cannot be avoided any more than the conflict between democracy and nazism could. The Russians will try to extend communism throughout the world. They will succeed unless the United States and Great Britain organize to combat it and unless they lead the nations of western Europe in the conflict against it.

Mr. Bullitt insists that the Soviet government will not permit the small nations of eastern Europe to be independent. Russia will dominate these nations and use them as a springboard from which to attack the nations of western Europe.

The nations which, according to Mr. Bullitt, will be brought under Russian domination at the end of the war are these: Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Germany.

If, according to Mr. Bullitt, the westward march of communism is to be successfully resisted, Great Britain, aided by the United States, must organize a bloc of nations in western

and southern Europe. These nations are Turkey, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Austria, western Germany, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

Mr. Bullitt, presuming to express the views of Rome, suggests that if Hitler sees he is defeated and that he will be completely crushed, he will decide to bring ruin to all Europe by surrendering to Russia, thus permitting the Russians to overrun Germany and establish a great communistic empire in the heart of Europe. If Mr. Bullitt is right about this, the only way to prevent it, of course, would be for Great Britain and the United States to give up the attempt to crush Hitler and buy him off with a "soft" peace. That is, therefore, what Bullitt seems to favor as the first step in the inevitable war with Russia.

One of the most significant statements in the Bullitt article is this: "A sad joke going the rounds in Rome gives the spirit of their hope: What is an optimist? A man who believes that the third world war will begin in about 15 years between the Soviet Union and western Europe, backed by Great Britain and the United States. What is a pessimist? A man who believes that western Europe, Great Britain, and the United States will not dare to fight."

Naturally, Mr. Bullitt's call-to-arms against one of our allies in the present war does not go unchallenged. A chorus of criticism has followed the publication of the article. The argument of the critics runs as follows:

If the advice which Mr. Bullitt puts into the mouths of Romans or Italians were followed, the victory now in sight would vanish. If the United States and Great Britain should forget their objective of crushing Hitler and should rush to occupy Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria, and other nations for the purpose of preventing Russia from gaining control over them, war with the Soviets would not long be delayed. The world would be engulfed in a con-

flict which would destroy civilization.

Mr. Bullitt's counsel is one of despair and defeatism, and such an attitude is wholly unjustified. The assumption that Russia is planning to extend communism and dominate the world is false. There is no evidence that Russia has any such intention; no evidence that we must fight Russia if we are to preserve democracy and Christianity.

Change in Policy

At one time, strong leaders and groups in the Soviet government wanted the Soviets to incite communistic revolutions in other countries. The leader of that movement was Leon Trotsky, but his faction was overthrown, and Trotsky sent into exile.

Stalin and those now in control of Russian policies do not want world revolution. They want world peace, for only under conditions of peace can the Soviet Union grow and develop and establish great industries.

Throughout the period since the First World War, Russia has worked for peace. She was the chief supporter of the League of Nations and efforts toward collective security. She followed this policy because she knew that if a great war came, much of Russia would be despoiled and Russia would be impoverished. She now needs a long period of peace to restore her war-devastated regions and to raise the living standards of her people.

Of course, serious problems will arise in the attempt to reorganize the world for peace. It will be extremely difficult to preserve the complete independence of small nations. Russia will probably insist that the small Baltic states, as well as Poland and certain of the Balkan countries, shall be largely under her influence. She will insist that the governments of these countries be friendly to her rather than hostile.

Russia wants to be assured that if there should be another war with Germany, these small neighboring countries will not ally themselves with

the Germans, as Romania, Hungary, and Finland did in this war. She will insist that in case of another war, the small nations, such as Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, will not be used by the Germans as a springboard from which to attack Russia.

It should be easy for Americans to understand this attitude on the part of Russia. Our own government insists that the countries of the Western Hemisphere shall have governments which are not hostile to us but which are friendly.

U. S. Position

Today, we are refusing to recognize the government of Argentina because we say that the Argentine government is supporting our enemies. We demand that Argentina be friendly to us. We do this even though that country is some 4,000 miles away from ours. It is extremely unlikely that we would long tolerate unfriendly governments in Mexico or other countries near to us.

Now when a great nation insists that the smaller countries in its neighborhood shall be friendly and not hostile, these countries are likely to lose some of their independence. It is hard to compel them to be friendly without taking away some of their sovereignty.

So it can readily be seen that serious problems must be handled wisely if the world is to be organized for peace, and if wars are to be prevented. Enduring peace can be achieved only if all the nations work in harmony; if they respect each other; and if each avoids, insofar as possible, acts of hostility against the others.

There is every reason to believe that Russia and the nations of the West, including the United States and Great Britain, can live peaceably together. The United States, Great Britain, and Russia want security for themselves. They can have that security without encroaching seriously upon each other.

If, however, we should become defeatists and should say that war between western Europe and the United States, on the one hand, and eastern



William C. Bullitt

Europe and Russia, on the other, is inevitable, such a war will come and it may well destroy civilization. A war to safeguard and preserve Christianity could lead to its very destruction.

These are among the critical comments which are being made by those who disapprove of Mr. Bullitt's article. The question of Russia's treatment of the small eastern European nations and of the relations of that country to the United States and Great Britain will certainly be increasingly debated after the German war is over. The AMERICAN OBSERVER will treat these issues fully later this fall.

Philippines Await Liberation

GENERAL MACARTHUR left the Philippine Islands in 1942 only after giving his promise to the Filipinos and the world that he would return. Today, two years of hard fighting have finally brought him and his forces to a position where that pledge may soon be carried out.

In the middle of 1942, Japan ruled the Pacific from the Aleutians to Australia. Now, except for the East Indies, the Philippines are the only major islands still held by the enemy. Northeast, east, and south of them, American forces are closing in for a final assault.

Some 1,600 miles east of the Philippines—within easy bombing range—

Except for this significant location, they would offer no extraordinary temptation to would-be invaders. Both individually and collectively they are small. Luzon, largest of the 7,083 islands comprising the Philippines, covers about 40,000 square miles, and all the islands together have an area no greater than that of Arizona. While they resemble the neighboring East Indies in mountainous terrain and tropical climate, they do not have the rich oil and mineral resources of the archipelago southwest of them. Although they rank high in the production of sugar, hemp, coconut, tobacco, and timber, they are not suited to the cultivation of rubber. Seizing the

Indies for their resources, the Japanese took the Philippines for predominantly military reasons.

To the Filipino people, the prospect of General MacArthur's return means more than release from Japanese domination. It means also that at last their dream of national independence will be realized. According to a law passed last summer, as soon as the enemy has been driven out, the United States will relinquish all control over their government.

Ever since the 16th century, the Philippines have been ruled by one or another foreign power. First it was the Portuguese who claimed the islands after Ferdinand Magellan discovered them in 1521. Then the Spaniards took over, naming them for their king, Philip II. Throughout the 1600's, British, Spanish, Dutch, and Chinese empire builders fought over them. Although the British at one time captured Manila, the Spaniards were final victors in the contest.

At the time the first westerners came to the Philippines, the islands were inhabited by primitive tribes. Under Spanish rule, which lasted until the end of the 19th century, a large proportion of them became civilized. By the time the Spanish-American War broke out, they had developed national feeling and a strong desire for independence.

When, as a result of the Spanish-American War, the Philippines were turned over to the United States, the

Filipinos showed themselves as much opposed to American domination as to Spanish. General Aguinaldo, who had led an uprising against Spain in 1896, declared war on the United States in 1899 and fought us until 1901.

The American idea in holding the Philippines was to educate the people and develop the country, granting self-government by degrees and finally leaving the people to rule themselves. When the United States first came into possession of the islands, President McKinley appointed a commission of five Americans to run Filipino affairs. Later, native members were added to the commission, and, by 1907, a popularly elected assembly shared the legislative power with it. At this time also, the Filipinos were given two representatives in Congress. Although these two representatives had no vote, they were to advise Congress on matters relating to the Philippines.

Independence Act

In 1916, the Philippine government was changed again. The new arrangement provided for a popularly elected two-house legislature with almost complete law-making authority. Executive power rested with a governor-general and the approval of the President of the United States was required before certain kinds of laws—mainly relating to defense—were put into effect, but the Filipinos were left otherwise free to rule themselves.

In 1934, Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act, promising the islands complete independence after a 10-year transition period. According to the terms of the Act, the office of governor-general was abolished. A Filipino president was to be chief executive under limited supervision by an American high commissioner.

By the end of 1935, the Filipinos had drawn up a constitution and elected a president and vice president. They chose two veteran fighters in the cause of independence for these offices—Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmena. These two took office at the



Life in the Philippines is still relatively primitive. Filipino shown working with crude implements.

our troops are stationed on recently captured Saipan, Tinian, and Guam, in the Marianas. Only 600 miles east of the southernmost Philippines, Navy ships and planes have dealt crippling blows to the islands of Yap and Palau, key air and fleet bases and once headquarters for political administration of Japan's island holdings. Southeast of the Philippines, the New Guinea coast is lined with American bases, linking our forces with Australia in the southeast and extending to Sanampor on the northwest tip of the island. Halmahera, the one large island steppingstone between northwest New Guinea and Mindanao, southernmost of the major Philippine Islands, has been bombarded into uselessness.

Strategic Importance

As we go to press, new American attacks have carried the Pacific front to Mindanao itself. Air and sea blows have taken a heavy toll of Japanese ships and airfields, especially around the port of Davao. Davao is especially important because of its fine harbor, dominating the southeastern corner of the Philippines. In Allied hands, it might be used as campaign headquarters for the entire reconquest of the islands or as a springboard for drives on Formosa or the China coast.

When the Japanese chose the Philippines as one of their first targets after they went to war with the United States, they were paying tribute to the great strategic importance of these islands. Located between the coast of China and the East Indies, they are also within reach of Australia and Japan.



THE PHILIPPINES, awaiting the hour of liberation, are anxious to return to the days of peaceful commerce. Here hemp is being loaded on the water front at Manila.

beginning of 1936, and the final date for the establishment of an independent Philippine Commonwealth was set at January 1, 1946. Frank Murphy, who had been governor-general under the old system, became the first Philippine high commissioner.

Quezon and Osmena were not long in office before Japan began to build her Pacific empire in earnest. By the time they were inaugurated for a second term, bombs were falling on their capital city of Manila. President Quezon delivered his second inaugural address from General MacArthur's headquarters on Corregidor December 30, 1941. Later, he and his cabinet were evacuated to Australia, and, finally, to the United States.

Although Philippine defenses had not been built up sufficiently in the prewar period to withstand the overwhelming Japanese assault, Japanese conquest was delayed for five months because of the heroic resistance of both American and Filipino troops. Forced to retreat on Bataan peninsula on Luzon, the northernmost big island of the Philippine group, they held out in the rock fortress of Corregidor in Manila Bay until malaria and lack of food forced their surrender. Escaping to Australia a short time before the final capitulation, General MacArthur made his famous promise to return.

Guerrilla Warfare

Organized resistance to the Japanese ended with the surrender of General Wainwright, MacArthur's successor at Corregidor, on May 6, 1942, but in the more than two years since then, guerrilla fighters have harried the occupying forces in the Philippines unceasingly. Some of the guerrillas are American soldiers, who escaped to the hills after surrender. Many more are native Filipinos.

It was in recognition of the part the Filipinos had played in defending their islands against Japan that Congress voted last summer, just before President Quezon's death made Osmena chief executive of the Philippine government, to grant complete independence to the islands as soon as they can be cleared of Japanese. Remembering General MacArthur's pledge and watching American gains in the Pacific, Filipinos are convinced that the day will come long before January 1946. Last week, they noted with hope that American forces, by their new landings on Palau and in the Halmahera Islands, were drawing ever closer to their shores.

The Democratic Process

Extension of the Voting Privilege

AMERICA'S first wartime presidential election since 1864 has once more focussed attention on the question of the voting age. Of the 11,000,000 men and women in the armed forces, some 2,000,000 will be denied the right to vote because they have not yet reached the age of 21. On the grounds that an individual old enough to fight for his country is old enough to have a voice in how it shall be run, demands for a lowering of the voting age to 18 have been renewed.

Although voteless soldiers and sailors have brought the argument into the limelight, the movement to lower the voting age did not originate when the draft age was lowered to 18. Georgia is the only state to pass a law extending voting rights to 18-year-olds, but in 30 other states, similar laws have been drafted though never adopted.

Those who favor the lowered voting age contend that a 21st birthday does not automatically qualify a voter to decide wisely between parties and candidates. Other countries have set the minimum age for voting at many different levels, ranging from 18 in Russia to 25 in Japan. In ancient Rome, boys of 16 and 17 had full political rights along with their older brothers. Many Americans whose formal education ends with graduation from high school may never learn more about the complicated problems of government than they know at 18.

Opponents of a lowered voting age reply that while the 18-year-old may have completed his schooling, he lacks the experience necessary to make political decisions. They say too that if the voting age were lowered, the presence of many voters in the schools would dangerously increase the political influence of teachers.

Congress is now weighing these arguments in connection with several proposals for an amendment to the Constitution to make 18 the legal minimum voting age. While no action will be taken in time to affect the 1944 presidential contest, the issue is almost certain to outlast both the present campaign and the war.

Controversies about who shall vote and how are as old as democracy itself. For the western world, the idea that the individual citizen has a right to a voice in his government has developed through the struggles of centuries. When the English barons forced King John to sign Magna Charta in 1215 and thus extend basic civil liberties for all, it was just dawning for the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Governmental power was still reserved for nobility and the rule of popularly elected officials was unheard of.

Voting Rights Limited

Even at the time of the American Revolution when both Britain and her colonies had their laws made by elected legislatures instead of by royal decree, only five per cent of adult Englishmen had the right to vote. In the colonies, no more than eight per cent voted. The rest of the people were barred by religious and property qualifications. Only landowners received the ballot and, even among them, Roman Catholics, Jews, and, in some colonies, Quakers and Baptists were excluded.

Soon after the United States became a nation, property and religious qualifications for voting were dropped. By

the middle of the nineteenth century, all adult males were entitled to vote in every American state but South Carolina. It was only after the Civil War that the states brought back restrictions. When the slaves were freed and Negroes entered the electorate, the southern states tried to limit their political activity by setting up literacy tests, poll taxes, and other requirements for all voters.

After the Civil War, another group in the population began to clamor for the right to vote. Women, who had previously enjoyed few legal rights of any kind, began to emerge as full-fledged members of the community

Party chieftains, employers, and other people with power in the community always knew how any individual voted and were in a position to reward or punish him according to their own sympathies.

In the middle of the 19th century, the oral system gave way to the use of paper ballots. The first of these were printed and distributed by party members and listed only the candidates of the party issuing them. Cast in the open and clearly distinguishable from the ballots of opposing parties, they came no closer to freeing the voter from pressure at the polls than did the oral system.

urging them to register, and trying to influence them in favor of their candidates. On election day itself, they make hundreds of calls, to check on whether or not prospective voters have actually cast their ballots. Wherever possible, they furnish transportation to the polls for those who would not otherwise vote.

In spite of improvements in our voting system and the efforts of party workers, however, each election day finds many qualified voters neglecting to cast their ballots. In 1920, only 58.8 per cent of those eligible to vote did so. Even in the hotly controversial election of 1940, about 80 per cent of the eligible voters stayed away from the polls.

Reasons for Non-voting

Reasons for non-voting are varied. Changes of residence often find a would-be voter unable to meet the residence qualification in his state. Many people consider themselves too busy to vote on election day. Many more are merely indifferent.

This year, it is felt that the popular vote may be smaller than in 1940. The war has brought about great shifts in population which mean that many people will be unable to meet residence qualifications for voting. Many soldiers will not vote because of the complexity of state provisions for absentee balloting. Many war workers will feel they cannot spare time from the job.

In some countries, voting has been made compulsory for all who are eligible, and fines have been levied on non-voters. In the United States, however, voting is not enforced as a civic duty.



The signing of the Magna Charta by King John in 1215 was an important step in the long process of establishing democratic government.

and to demand equal political rights with men. The western states were first to grant them the franchise. Finally, after a majority of states had legalized women's voting, the Constitution was amended in 1920 to extend the right to all women.

While not all states have rules limiting the electorate to literate persons or those who have paid poll taxes, most states do place certain restrictions on the right to vote. Criminals and the mentally infirm are generally barred from the polls. A period of residence in a state, the county, and the electoral district, is required in most states, and registration within a given period before election day is a universal rule. Most states make provision for absentee voting, provided the ballots are returned within a certain period of time after election.

Methods of voting have changed as much through the years as the composition of the electorate. At first, the viva voce, or oral, system prevailed in the United States. The voter simply went to the county polling place and announced his choice. While this system had the advantage of simplicity, it did encourage coercion of voters.

Finally, around the end of the nineteenth century, the Australian ballot was adopted. This ballot—still the standard one throughout the United States—is printed and distributed at public expense, and bears the names of all candidates and parties. Given to each voter at the polling place, it is marked in secret. The voting machines used in some states operate on the same principle, listing all candidates and being worked by the voter in private.

The present-day voter goes to a school, police station, church or other public building designated as the voting place for his district. There he finds a number of election officials—members of the major parties—who check his registration, supply him with a ballot, and make sure that balloting is conducted according to the law. Later, they count the votes and send their tabulations to bipartisan state committees, which, in turn, report their totals to Washington in the case of federal elections.

But this is not the only role played by party workers in the voting process. Before election day they are busy calling and visiting prospective voters,

NEWS QUIZ

1. What position did Governor Dewey take, in his Louisville address, on the question of organizing the peace?
2. What effect is this likely to have upon the foreign policy issue in the campaign?
3. Why are the Democrats and the Republicans waging different types of campaigns?
4. On what ground does Governor Dewey charge that the New Deal is based upon a defeatist philosophy?
5. What is the Democratic reply to Mr. Dewey's charge that the Roosevelt administration prolonged the depression longer than any in our history?
6. In the opinion of Mr. Dewey, what is the greatest requirement for full production and full employment after the war? What is the Democratic answer?
7. Why has the article by William C. Bullitt, appearing in a recent issue of *Life* magazine, been so sharply criticized?
8. What is the principal contention of Mr. Bullitt in this article?
9. Why should he not be taken seriously when he presumes to speak for the Italians or the Vatican?
10. What problems must be worked out between the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States if peace is to be established on a permanent basis? What reason is there to believe this can be accomplished?
11. What is the strategic importance of the Philippine Islands?
12. What form of government did the islands have when the Japanese seized them?
13. When were American women given the right to vote, on a nation-wide basis?
14. What is meant by the Australian ballot?
15. Where is Aachen and what is its importance?

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